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Groneman - The Tyandi - Barabudur - 1906

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THE TYANDI-BARABUDUR

IN CENTRAL JAVA

BY

Dr. J. GRONEMAN

Honorary President of the Archaeological Society at Jogyakarta.

Translated from the Dutch

BY

A. DOLK.

SECOND EDITION.

SEMARANG-SOERABAIA,
G. C. T. VAN DORP & Co.
1906.

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It should be noticed that the non-English words in this guide are to be read like German words, with this exception that *y* represents the sound it has in the English word *young*.

The javanese *a* in open syllables in open words must be pronounced as the english *a* in *war*.

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THE TYANDI BARABUDUR.

Since the publication, in 1885, of my first paper on this Buddhist temple in a Dutch periodical (1), *many additions have been made to our knowledge of Javanese antiquities. Some ruins, only imperfectly known, because they were covered with a mass of rubbish, have been cleared and excavated, and some others the existence of which we were quite ignorant of* (2), *and also a series of sculptures at the base of the* Barabudur, *have been discovered.*

It was for this reason that in 1891, when the Archaeological Society *at* Yogyakarta *requested me to publish the article referred to separately, I availed myself of the opportunity to recast and augment it with the results of recent investigations, so that it might serve as a reliable guide for the increasing number of visitors of the famous ruins. Continued study of the subject, and especially the information obtained in my meeting with H. M. the King of* Siam, *himself a Buddhist, whom, in 1896, and once more in 1901, I had the honour of showing over the ruins of the Barabudur, having convinced me that there are several lacunae to be filled up in the work done in 1891, I have been induced to bring it once more before the public in its present form.*

For the right understanding of the subject in hand, I add a few introductory words on Buddhism.

(1) *De Indische Gids, 1887.*

(2) The *Tyandis Parambanan* and *I-jo;* See *Indische Gids* 1887 and the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* of the *Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences*, 1888, XXXII, p. 313 etc..

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I.

The Buddhists believe that their community, cultus, church, or whatever we may call it, was founded 24 centuries ago by the philosophic and humane son of the king of *Kapilavastu*, GAUTAMA, afterwards known as *Sâkya-muni*, i. e. *the wise man of the Sâkya clan*, and the *Buddha*, that is the *Enlightened one*, and all that later legends contain about him has for them the value of historical truth.

Several learned writers about India, especially the Dutch professor KERN, have demonstrated that many of these legends, though containing much that *cannot* be historically true, are perfectly explainable, if they are considered to be *myths*, the hero of which is a sun-god; this being the case, it is quite immaterial to non-Buddhists, whether these legends have or have not a foundation in history, and whether the *Buddha* of the Buddhists did or did not really live.

But it admits of no doubt that, about 3 centuries before the beginning of our era, Buddhism existed as such and was professed by king ASOKA *the Great*, and the reverence it was held in is testified by partly remaining inscriptions on columns and faces of rocks. (1)

Buddhism proclaimed that, after obtaining, by a pure life, deliverance from carnal passion and sin, and salvation from the sorrows of life and the curse of a series of rebirths into all sorts of shapes — of men and animals — man could reach a

(1) See a. o. H. KERN *Geschiedenis v. h. Boeddhisme* II. p. 308 and foll., Dr. S LEFMANN, *Geschichte des alten Indiens*, Berlin 1880 p. 769 and foll., the illustration on p. 769, and the engraving: *„Der Açokafelsen von Girnaroden Junâgadh im Jahre* 1869" in the 3*rd* part p. 257.

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state of eternal Rest. Hence Buddhism taught the necessity of self-command, self-denial and self-conquest; kindness to all creatures that have life, men and animals; religious toleration and good-will to men of all castes.

Original Buddhism was not a religion, for it knew no god and no individual immortality. But, no more than any other creation of time and human striving after reform, did it preserve its pristine character, and soon after the schism into two main divisions, the so-called Northern and Southern churches, it was especially the Northern division or *Mahâyâna*, which, besides the *Buddha* of this world, recognized other *Buddhas*, saviours of worlds past and to come, all of whom they considered to be manifestations or embodiments of one and the same original, impersonal deity, *Adi-Buddha*, and received even the gods (at least some of the gods) of the Hindus as *avatâras* of the original *Buddha* in its heaven. It is easy to understand that this Buddhism invented a Hell as the opposite to Heaven (1).

Nor did the southern church, the *Hînayâna*, though deviating far less from the ancient doctrine, keep free from inconsistencies, as in its pagodas too are found some divine images, which are believed to be representations of the *Buddha* (2).

Buddhism was, some centuries ago, expelled from the land of its birth by the worshippers of the ancient gods, and displaced by Saivism and other Hindu religions, which, partly at least, in their turn had to make room for the *Islâm*. But Hînayânism still prevails in *Ceylon*, *Siam*, and *Burma* and Mahâyânism

(1) See my work (published by the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van N. I.*) on the sculptures, dug up several years ago at the foot of the *Tyandis Parambanan*, which represent various Hindu gods as *Bodhisatvas*, and my Guide for visitors of the: „Hindu-bouwvallen in de Parambanan-vlakte", which has also been translated into English.

(2) In the *Buddhist* temples I visited in *Ceylon* at and near *Colombo*, I saw bad pictures or coloured figures of *Siva and Ganesa*. The monks who were my guides and whom I asked what was the meaning of those images in the temples, called them *Buddhas*.

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in *Nepâl* and *Tibet*, and, perhaps in still more corrupted forms, in *China* and *Japan*. In *Java* it flourished through some centuries, but was finally exterminated by the fanatic and zealous votaries of *Allah* and MUHAMMAD. This meant death after life; man held in bondage by passions instead of controlling them; the fall of a civilization now lost for ever, and of a highly developed art, which through the ruins of her works still speaks of her ancient grandeur.

Mahâyânism looked upon the *Buddha* only as the deliverer of *this* world, and worshipped, moreover, the *Buddhas* of *three* worlds that had vanished, and of a fifth, which is to rise from the night of time after the end of this world. They are the five *Dhyâni Buddhas:* VAIROCHANA, AKSHOBYA, RATHNASAMBHAVA, AMITÂBHA and AMOGASIDDHA. These five *Buddhas* had also their *Bodhisatvas* or *Buddha's* sons i. e. future *Buddhas*, who are still in the state of self-culture or self-trial, which precedes *Buddha*-hood. They are respectively: SAMANTABHADRA, VAJRAPÂNI, RATNAPÂNI, PADMAPÂNI and VISVAPÂNI. These *Dhyani-Buddhas* and *Bodhisatvas*, not being known in the *Southern* church, their figures on the *Barabudur* and in other *tyandis* in Java prove that the Buddhists of this island belonged to the *Northern* church. (1)

It is, however, a matter of course, that, among all those saints they worshipped the *Buddha* of this world, AMITÂBHA, as *their* Lord and saviour, and believed in his earthly life as a man and prince, an ascetic and teacher, in the same way as the Israelites did in the personal existence of their *Yahvé*, their Lord of Hosts, their god of war and revenge, and as our Teutonic forefathers believed in the existence of ODHIN and THOR and the dying sun-god BALDUR.

(1) The Chinese Buddhist I TSING, who visited India and the Archipelago in the 7st century, states that Hînayânism was commun also in Java. See the english translation of his: "*Record of the Buddhists Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*" bij I TAKAKUSU p. XXII, XXV, XXXIX, XLVIII.

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So, if we want to judge and understand the temples built by these Buddhists, we have to place ourselves on their standpoint and assume that the hero of the legend really lived and suffered in order to deliver all beings that live and suffer and die, from the oppressive burden of a sinful life and from the curse of death

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II.

The Buddhists profess that the ashes of the *Buddha* were distributed among eight towns, where they were buried, and that king *Asoka* caused seven of the tombs to be reopened, and 84.000 portions of the sacred ashes, preserved in vases of metal, crystal or stone, to be spread all over the kingdom and beyond its frontiers, and to be kept under tumuli or *stûpas*.

As I have said before, the beginning of the history of Buddhism is to be placed in the reign of this king, in the *third century before our era*, which is proved incontestably by inscriptions on rocks engraved by his order, many of which are still found in various parts of India (1).

And though there may be some exaggeration in the number of 84.000, many tombs still extant, part of which have been opened, put it beyond all question that the Buddhists at that time, wherever they settled, preserved with veneration, under earthen or stone tumuli, small quantities of ashes or bones, which they believed to be relics of the Great master (2).

Wherever a community of Buddhists was formed, a vase filled with ashes was buried under such a mound or *stûpa*

(1) See Note 3. The unknown, very ancient, characters were deciphered and a translation of the edicts published by PRINSEPS, after years of persevering, study.

(2) In a temple at *Candy*, in Ceylon, a tooth is kept, which no doubt once belonged to an animal, but, being believed to be a tooth of the Buddha, is the object of much care and reverence: the *Dalada;* and *Thûpârâma*, the most sacred pagoda in the island, possesses one of the master's collar-bones; so, at least, say the true believers.

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which was then held in veneration, as if it were the tomb of the Master himself (1).

These mounds, being ill-secured from the weather and the outrages of time, as well as from the profaning hands of men or claws of beasts, afterwards solid domes in stone were built, called *dâgabas* or *dagobs*, which were mostly placed on pedestals formed by lotus-flowers, the *padmâsana*, almost indispensable attributes to the images of Indian gods and saints (2).

The fact that the form of many ornaments in the temples—among others of the hand-bell or prayingbell, which is still rung by the *vishu* in Chinese temples—is borrowed from that dâgaba, is proof sufficient, that deep veneration was felt for such a sepulchral monument.

---

(1) Sometimes this honour was bestowed upon the ashes of another *Buddhist* saint, perhaps when no ashes of the *Buddha* could be procured, or when there was a particular occasion to devote a monument to such a saint; afterwards the ashes of princes or other persons of rank, and *gurus* or teachers, priests, or monks, were likewise buried under stûpas, which were crowned with splendid mausolea.

(2) The opinion that the *dâgabas* should have been shaped after the lotus-flower, the sacred *padma*, and that the openings in the *dâgabas* on the round upper terraces of the *Barabudur* should represent the empty divisions of the pericarp of the ripened lotus, cannot be maintained. (See the work of Dr. LEEMANS, to be mentioned hereafter. (p. 456) The petals of the lotus-flower fall off before they bend down, and then the seedvessel alone remains on the flower-stalk, like a reversed cone or dome, the flat base of which, first turned upwards, but after the bending down of the withering stalk, turned down, shows the perforations corresponding to its divisions. The openings in the sides of the *dâgabas* must have a meaning that cannot be explained as imitations from nature.

Mr. GROENEVELDT, too, is of opinion, that the *dâgaba* represents nothing but the tumulus surmounted by a parasol or (as in the *Barabudur*) by a cone-shaped pillar.

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III

Of the Buddhists who, eleven centuries ago, lived in the parts where in later times rose the Muhammadan empire of *Mataram*, we know nothing (1).

We know by inference that they came from India, presumably from the north, but how much time has passed since that event and when they began to make a befitting repository for their *Buddha*-ashes, is uncertain.

That the *Barabudur* must have been such a repository, seems, however, to be unquestionable, the more so as the temple is a great deal too large to justify the belief that it was intended for a mausoleum, even of the most powerful prince of the ancient Buddhistic empire of Central Java.

Differing in opinion from RHYS DAVIDS, who says that the temple was built in the thirteenth century, and reasoning from recently acquired data, we have arrived at the conclusion that the building has existed for about eleven centuries past. (2)

(1) That a *Hindu* empire of that name once existed, appears from a copper plate bearing an inscription in old Javanese, containing a. o. the words *Srı mahârâja i Mataram*, i. e. *H. H. the King of Mataram*. See the Minutes of the *Batavian Society* of Febr. 2, 1886, Vol. XXIV, p. 27.

(2) See RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhism* (1899), p. 238.

According to professor KERN, the characters of the inscriptions over some of the sculptures at the base of the outer walls, date from about the year 800 of the *Saka* era, i. e. the *ninth* century after Christ. This corresponds with the age of the *Buddha* temples in the plain of *Parambanan*. An inscription in a stone of these *tyandis* informs us that it was founded and consecrated to *Târâ* by the prince in honour of his *guru* in the *saka*-year 701. See *Minutes of the Bat. Soc.* Febr. 2,1886, Vol. XXIV, p. 25.— In the year 415 the Chinese traveller *Fa Hien* met with many Brahman Hindus in Central Java. Though he makes no mention of *Buddhists*, this does not prove that there were none among those *Hindus*. I TSING (p. XVIII) writes: „*Buddhism was chiefly the Hînayânism*" and (p. XXX) „*the ten or more islands of the Southern sea (Sumatra, Java etc.) generally belong to the Hînayânism.*"

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That the Buddhists of Central Java then were a powerful people, is evident from the size and magnificence of the structure, which, surpassing in artistic value all other *Buddha*-temples known, has not its equal in all the world.

Though the cave temples of India may be more spacious and the *Angkor* in *Kambodya* from a distance may seem more imposing, the *Barabudur*, according to competent judges who also visited those temples, is incontestably more beautiful, owing to the unity of the whole and the harmony of its parts, the grandeur of the conception and the excellence of the execution. (*)

This unity warrants the supposition that one single architect must have devised the plan; but only a man of vigorous thought could have created *such* a design and have it executed by thousands of workmen and artists through many decades.

Some unfinished parts, especially of the sculptural work to be mentioned in the description of the base of the outer wall, authorize the belief that the building was scarcely finished and the sculpture-work was still in progress at the time of the decline or fall of the Buddhistic kingdom.

Upwards of a thousand years have since rolled over the *Barabudur*. Earthquakes and ash-showers have disjointed its walls, rain-water and rank vegetation have disintegrated its foundation-works, and short-sighted slaves of imbecility or fanaticism have defaced its works of art — but still the ruin stands there an imposing fact, a powerful creation of the thinking mind, an epic in stone, immortal, even in its decadence.

(*) General DE BEYLIÉ, the learned french officer, has written a paper: „*le Palais d' Angkor Vat, residence-ancienne des rois Khmers*", to prove that *Angkor Vat* was not a *vat*, a pagoda, but a royal palace.

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IV

So it is likely that the first Buddhists carried with them to Java one or more vases filled with ashes, alleged to be relics either of the *Buddha* himself or of some sainted teacher, to depose them in their new settlement under a simple mound or in an artless *dâgaba*, and to claim for them the veneration of the believers, as if that mound of earth or pile of stones were the tomb of the Lord himself.

But the settlement grew into a powerful empire, and as the Christians, who at first met in caves or catacombs, in later times built churches, unequalled in richness and splendour, such as St. Peter's at Rome and Cologne cathedral, so the later Buddhists, no longer satisfied with the simple pile of stones, but feeling the want of something better, something stately and grand, ultimately founded a *dâgaba* of enormous dimensions, in solemn style, surrounded by a number of terraces gradually descending, covered or walled-in with splendid sculptures, which, in the eloquent language of the plastic art or in the poetry of symbolism, was to speak of the Lord and his doctrine; of the saviour and salvation; of the insufficiency of life and the victory over death (1).

Whoever desired to approach the *dâgaba* either to tender his offerings, or to meditate upon his life or to give utterance to his devotion in prayers (2), had to ascend all the terraces,

(1) This explanation of the way in which the idea of building the *Barabudur* may have gradually ripened in the mind of the true believers, is, of course, controvertible. But how far superior in beauty and art are the sculptures of the Javanese temples to the unskilful mural paintings, with the same meaning, in the Ceylon pagodas which I visited.

(2) *Buddha* himself thought prayers to be useless, but later Buddhists did pray without, however, adoring the images themselves. The Chinese light their pipes at the flames of the tapers on the table of offerings, and see no profanation in the act.

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and, may-be, walk along all those images, which recalled to his mind the *Buddha* and his doctrine, and inculcated to him the dissolution into *Nirvâna*, the approach to infinite *nothingness*, as being the ultimate object of life and the salvation from the misery of sensual existence (1).

There it was that many an image reminded him that the victory over self, the control of the passions, simplicity and purity truth and meekness, and love to men and animals showed the right way to that goal; and he who was not one of those who, though seeing, remain blind, at last approached the tomb of the Master in a mental attitude, so pure and exalted, so serious and beneficent, that the pilgrimage itself had become a step in the good way.

Nevertheless, this was not equally so to all. For the impressions, received there, might be transient, like other impressions; and many a one who went there for other reasons, either for form's sake or to keep up appearances, might no more be affected by these impressions than by the grand panorama, viewed from the highest terraces, of the surrounding mountains, valleys and plains, which, in our days as well, enhances the enjoyment of him who ascends the ruin.

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(1) RHYS DAVIDS *Buddhism* (1899), p. 111 and foll. defines *Nirvâna* as „the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart which would, otherwise . . . . . be the cause of renewed individual existence". But, as Mr. GROENEVELDT in good reason wrote to me, „the meaning of *nirvâna* varies according to time and sect". See also KERN I p. 361.

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V.

[Now let us follow the way which we may suppose the pilgrim took up the hill bearing the vast pile.

From the small plain on its north-west corner we survey the whole: a many-sided pyramid of dark grey stone, a chaos of cupolas and spires, of re-entering walls and salient mouldings, surmounted by a high central dome, which once was crowned with a spire.

We approach and ascend the outer terrace: a stony plain of thirty-six sides, or, which is perhaps clearer, in the shape of a square, each side of which has two rectangular projections; inclosing the temple, which has an equal number of sides (1).

This terrace does not form a part of the original design. About two yards lower there is another, which, in former times, extended three yards farther outward, and the greater part of which is now hidden under a load of 7000 cubic yards of stone (2).

Now suppose this lower terrace to be removed, and about four feet lower you will find that which probably was the original outer terrace, the uncovered exterior part of which is quite lost, so that its outlines cannot be determined at present.

In 1886 I laid before my fellow Directors of the Archaeological Society (3) for the temporary removal, in parts, of

(1) The corner stairs opposite to the *pasanggrahan (bungalow)* were built in later times with building stones that had got detached.

(2) This upper layer of stone, laid in later times upon the lower outer terrace, is 7 1/2 feet high by 22 feet broad, and the lower terrace extended 10 feet outward and was 4 feet high. The numbers in the text are only approximatively correct, but sufficiently so for the purpose.

(3) See the *minutes* of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde v. N. I.* 1887, March 19 folio XCIV and following.

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the upper layer of stone. Consent of the Government being obtained, in 1890 the lower half of the outer wall of the temple was laid bare accordingly, when, under the massive system of mouldings and plinths, which now again partly rests as a beautiful socle on the terrace we have climbed, was found a series of 160 sculpture-works in bas-relief, the existence of which was not known within a few years past, and which under carefully-applied coverings for the greater part have remained comparatively intact. They have since been photographed, by order and at the cost of the Government, by the photographer CEPHAS, and made accessible to archaelogists for further examination (1).

So it appears that the original outer terrace had been raised twice round about the first enclosing wall, and this too before the lastly planned sculptures were quite finished. And it must have been the Buddhists themselves who deemed this necessary and executed it, probably in order to give a stronger support to the whole of the ponderous structure (2).

But let us return to the actually existing terrace which we have climbed. Formerly there was a heavy open-work parapet running round it, but no trace of it remains (3).

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(1) A permanent uncovering was not to be thought of. It would have endangered the solidity of the temple, unless expensive propping works were made, which, moreover, would have spoiled the beauty of the building.

(2) Over the bas-reliefs that were first discovered, we fouud very rough and shallow superscriptions or rather inscriptions in old-Javanese characters. It was those sculptures and inscriptions that induced me to propose, through the Directors of our Society, to the Government the uncovering of the whole of the base of the temple in the only way that could not endanger the ruin itself. The cost, estimated by me, with the aid of the engineer HUBENET and the photographer CEPHAS, at ± £ 800, was then put upon the budget for 1890. Upon my return from Holland in the month of October of that year, I visited the ruin and found the work in progress under the superintendence of the photographer.

(3) According to the text of LEEMANS' work each side has a length of 104,9 Metres; on the engraving n° IV, however, of the work, 114 Metres and on the plan of plate III 103 Metres: so the numbers of this work are not in every respect reliable.

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In the middle of each of the four sides there was an opening in the parapet at the top of a wide flight of stairs, which were protected by heavy banisters and probably guarded by sitting lions.

A few well-finished and a greater number of unfinished lions have been found, but it is not possible now to assign to them their proper places.

Similar stairs, but the banisters of which terminated below in *nâga*-heads, then led up to the lower platform.

And from the remaining higher one, on which we stand, other stairs ascended past all the superior terraces, which stairs we can still use to reach the great central dâgaba, without having to go through all the galleries past all the sculpture-works that wait us there.

So, on our first inspection, we go only round a part of the outer terrace, viz. the whole of the north-side and half the east-side, till we reach on the latter the stairs that lead us, on the first enclosed gallery, to the starting-point of four different series of sculptures, each of which, if we take care to view them in their regular succession, we shall find to be preparatory to the next.

The sculptured figures in the massive outer wall, *upwards* of the outer terrace, hence in a rather high position above the *lower* series, which has been temporarily laid bare and since been recovered, are no representation of any history or legend, but appear to us to be mere architectural ornaments. Not that there is no meaning in them: only we are not, in every instance, able to catch their import.

They are innumerable, but ever varying repetitions of the same idea: a man sitting by a scent-offering or a flower-vase, and a man standing between two women, nymphs or attendants; every two pictures being separated by the isolated figure of a woman (perhaps a female *Bodhisatva)*, but more probably an *apsarasa* or celestial nymph, holding a lotus-flower or some other emblematical attribute.

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On the cornice, over these images are—or were—at regular distances, right over the sitting men, miniature temples of perfectly equal, richly carved shape, each of which is provided with a deep niche, holding a *Buddha*-image, with the *prabha* (a glory or disc of light) behind its head, and seated on a lotus-throne.

A spire surmounted, and two wings with similar, but lower spires, flanked, each of the miniature temples.

Between every two niche-temples there was—or is—right over the groups of three little figures, an altar-shaped stone-block, bearing a bell-shaped *dâgaba* and crowned with a cone.

The *front* of each of these *dâgaba*-basements was adorned with the figure of a sitting man or woman, holding either a flower-vase, or a scent-offering, or both.

All these niche-temples and *dâgaba*-temples projected, under an uninterrupted cornice, which bore the *dâgaba* and spires, from one wall, running parallel to the 36 sides of the polygon, and broken only by the four gate-buildings. The latter showed a repetition on a larger scale of the niche-temples: only instead of the niches there were here larger gates, reaching down to the floor at the top of the stairs.

The stairs were, and are still, the weak points of the architectural construction.

The steps are unequal in height and depth, and a considerable part of the floor of the galleries is taken away by the stairs. The gate-structures, too, which surmounted them at each superior enclosure, but have disappeared for the greater part, having no due proportion to the whole construction, were less beautiful.

Still we are able to recognize in the remaining posts of the gates (as well as of those which flanked the niches) the snake-like bodies of *nâgas*, the tails of which met over the gates in the mouth of a monster-head. The same motive is frequently found in all the Buddhist temples of Java and other countries

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At the foot of the gate (or niche) those bodies terminate in a monster-head, turned outward, with a curled upper-lip shaped like the trunk of an elephant, but for the rest having no resemblance to the head of any other animal. Nevertheless WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT and, after him, all other investigators, among them the Dutchman LEEMANS, took those monsters for *elephants* heads, without, however, observing in the side-posts of the gates (and niches) the snake-like bodies or accounting for the monster-heads at the top.

I myself laboured under the same error for many years, and even maintained it against the king of *Siam*, who was the first to show that it was a misconception, till I surrendered to His Majesty's convincing argumentation (1).

The *nâga* represents a power hostile to Buddhism, and the king held the monster conquering this power by crushing its tails, to be RAHU, the same monster that is said to make an attempt at devouring the sun at every eclipse.

Some time ago I communicated the interpretation given by the Royal Buddhist to the *Mission Archéologique de l' Indo-Chine*, but professor L. FINOT, a scholar of great authority, was of opinion that the monsterhead does *not* represent RAHU, but GARUDA, the well-known active enemy of *nâgas*. Now I never had seen that *vâhana*, the sun-eagle mounted by *Vishnu*, represented otherwise than as a bird or a man armed with wings and talons or, at least, with the beak of a bird of prey, and the monster-heads in question show nothing like either wings or feathers or a beak; yet M. FINOT said he knew representations of VISHNU riding on a beast with such a head and nothing characteristic of a bird. Besides, it is but fair to own that GARUDA, the faithful servant of the god who (according to the belief of the Buddhists of the Northern Church) embodied himself in

(1) See my article: „*A Buddhist King on the Barabudur*" in the *Tijdschrift v. Ind. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, XXXIX.

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Buddha, is, indeed, the natural destroyer of the infernal enemy of the Church (1). (*)

But . . . . . we have arrived at the eastern stairs, or (more correctly) the stone-blocks that have been put in their place.

The beautiful banisters, issuing at the top from lions' mouths and terminating at the bottom in *nâga*-heads with turned-up trunks, have likewise disappeared. These lions' mouths also may have represented GARUDA, who—being, like the *nâga*, mythical—can assume various shapes.

By eight steps we reach the first gallery that has a wall at the outside (2). The first thing that strikes us, is that two rows, one over the other, of richly framed sculpture-works have been hewed out of the two walls, evidently after they had been built with the composing stone-blocks; and that over the figures an uninterrupted band of exquisite festoons runs below the cornice of the inner wall.

The upper row of the front-wall adorns the receding back-walls of the above-mentioned little niche- and *dâgaba*-temples.

The inner wall, likewise, is surmounted by similar groups of temples; all— the niche-temples included—crowned with *dâgabas* and cones.

The three superior walls also bear such groups of temples, and there too the cornices of the outer walls are lined with ever-varying but always beautiful bands of graceful rosettes and festoons with birds.

The whole number of niches with *Buddha*-figures on the

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(1) Some time afterwards however I found at the ruins of Parambanan and Pêlahosan such heads with two unmistakable talons of birds of prey under the leafcurls on each side, which proved the opinion of M. FINOT to be true.

(2) Called the „*second gallery*" in Dr. LEEMANS, *the Barabudur in the island of Java*, 1873. a work published by order of the Government.

(*) See: „*Bulletin de l' Ecole françaises d' Exstrême-Orient*" I, p. 21, 22.

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five enclosing walls of the *Barabudur* amounts to 432 (1). We shall speak of them farther on.

At present we turn to the *left*, to begin our examination of the sculptures on the inner wall, first of the *upper* row, as this is the one that has been preserved completely and is satisfactorily explained as representing a series of incidents in the life of the *Buddha* SIDDHÂRTHA GAUTAMA, the *Sâkyamuni*, from before his birth till his death (2).

The Buddha's life

We can say only a few words about these sculpture-works, 120 in number. Part of those in the *lower* row and of the outer wall of this gallery as well as those of the two walls of the three following galleries, we pass by in silence.

Many of them have disappeared altogether and a great number of them have suffered so much that an interpretation of their meaning has become next to impossible, and among those that remain there are still some that cannot be said to have been explained satisfactorily.

But in general we can say that their subject is a manner of worshipping either the *Buddha*, or a number of *Buddhas*, or *dâgabas* or *caityas* (3), *bo*-trees, or perhaps some special relics. Some represent either a distribution of food or presents, or a preaching, or a fabulons story about animals; some show the *Buddha* or others in the shapes of men or animals which they had to pass through in their transmigrations (4), others

(1) On the lowermost wall $4 \times 26 = 104$
on the second wall . . . . $4 \times 26 = 104$
on the third wall . . . . . $4 \times 22 = 88$
on the fourth wall . . . . $4 \times 18 = 72$
and on the fifth wall . . . $4 \times 16 = 64$
Total 432

(2) The interpretation of these sculptures of the B. B. we owe to the draughtsman WILSEN, an Austrian in Dutch service.

(3) See lower down.

(4) Of these *jâtaka*-representations we shall speak presently.

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stand for some Hindu deity as *Bodhisatva* or future *Buddha*. Some images are probably purely emblematical. Their number was formerly upwards of 2000 (1).

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(1) Leaving out of count those on the fronts of the more than 400 little *dâgaba*-temples on the outer wall there are:

on the outside of this wall at the top	408,	sculptures
lower	160,	„
on the inside	568,	„
on the 2nd wall, outside,	240,	„
inside,	192,	„
on the 3rd wall, outside,	108,	„
inside,	165,	„
on the 4th wall, outside,	88,	„
inside,	140,	„
on the 5th wall, outside,	73,	„
Total	2141.	„

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VI.

We begin our circumambulation at the left side at the eastern gate, and following *the course of the sun in the northern hemisphere*, through the south, west and north, shall return to our startingpoint in the east. This solar order is met with in all the sculptures on the *Barabudur* (and in other temples likewise) (1), furnishing additional evidence of the *Northern* origin of the Javanese Buddhists. The Siamese followed the same direction, saying that going round in the opposite direction (having the left side turned towards the *dâgaba* or the *Buddha*) would betray either ignorance or a want of respect.

To facilitate the finding out of the single sculpture-works we shall always count them from the stairs we have left behind us or from the first to the ninth corner of the wall beyond that flight of stairs to the next.

The first scenes of the series represent what happened before the birth of the *Buddha*.

No. 4 (n° 7 of the illustrations of WILSEN in the work published by LEEMANS), or n° 1 from the *first* corner, is perhaps a figure of the *Bodhisatva* or future *Buddha*, leaving his lotus-

(1) The connection of this fact with the course of the sun for the inhabitants of the *Northern* hemisphere, to which India and Farther India belong, was, as far as I know, not yet recognized by any one. Still it is of importance for those who are of opinion that *Buddha* is a sun-god.

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throne attended by three *former Buddhas*, to descend to the human world (1).

Farther on to the south we see several images of the *Buddha's* parents, the *Sâkya*-king SUDDHODANA and his first wife MÂYÂ, honoured as the future mother of the divine son.

No. 13 (25 of WILSEN-LEEMANS), the second past the *fourth* corner, shows the *Buddha* in the shape of an elephant lying on lotus-cushions and descending to his future mother.

According to king CHULA LONGKORN this descent was a *dream* of MÂYÂ, the future mother of the *Buddha*.

No. 27 (53 W. L.), next to the *eighth* corner. MÂYÂ travelling, in accordance with custom, to her father's house to await her confinement there. She does not, however, get farther than the pleasant grove, called *Lumbini*, ant the *next* figure (55 W. L.), immediately past the *ninth* corner, shows how the *Buddha* born out of her side, while she was standing under a tree, *at once made seven steps towards each of the four cardinal points and towards the zenith*, betokening thereby his future sway over *all* (five) worlds (2). A shower of lotus-flowers descends upon him and lotus-plants burst forth under his feet

(1) If the meaning of this sculpture-work is rightly interpreted, it justifies the opinion that the different images of the *Buddha* on the *Barabudur* represent *Dhyâni-Buddhas*.

It might, in opposition to this opinion, be contended that the Northern church knows *five Dhyâni-Buddhas*, all of them characterized by a peculiar position of the hands (and other mark), whereas here we find only *four Buddhas*, the first three of whom are all in the *same* position with the *fourth Dhyâni-Buddha*; but this position (like all others) has a fixed meaning (even in Southern Buddhism, which knows of no *Dhyâni-Buddhas*), viz. that of *meditation*, perhaps, too, of the rest of *nirvâna* or of death, and it is possibly for this reason that the three deliverers of *pre-existing* worlds have been represented in this position, no image of the *fifth*, the *future* saviour, being made because he did not exist at the time when the *fourth* had just come down from heaven to save *this* world.

(2) I think there is some connection between this representation and the position of the *five Buddha*-shapes on the lowermost four enclosing walls and the round top-terraces.

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at every step he takes. A lunar *crescent* at the back of his head probably signifies his heavenly or princely origin (1).

In the following groups the young prince, in most sculptures on his father's knees, receives the homage of priests and laymen. His mother died seven days after his birth. So we see her no more. *No. 31* (61 W. L.), next to the *southern* stairs, perhaps refers to the *brahman* who, perceiving the *Buddha*-marks on SIDDHÂRTHA'S body, predicts his future greatness though in another sense than his father wishes. Nos. 77 and 79 W. L. or the 5th and 6th past the *second* corner, represent similar scenes.

No. 49 (97 W. L.), the 4th past the *fifth* corner, on the westside, shows his mastery in feats of strength. In a competition (*svayamvara*) with the most skilful bowmen, he surpasses all in bending a bow that no one else can bend, and sending the arrow through a row of 7 *cocos*-trees. By this feat of archery he gains the hand of the purest of all *Sâkya*-maids, his fair cousin YASODHARÂ (2).

(1) Dr. LEEMANS thought it was no lunar crescent but the tips of a fillet. If he had seen the sculptures himself, he would not have made this mistake. SIDDHÂRTHA wears no head-band but a crown or *makuta*, under which a fillet is no more worn than under the Javanese *kuluq* or state-bonnet. Two sculptured works at the entrance of the *Mêndut*-shrine represent an Indian prince and princess with many children in a garden; probably the parents of the royal founder of the B. B.. They all wear the lunar crescent, but no fillet. *Buddha*, according to KERN, betokens the awakening of the *sun* as well as of the *moon*, so both celestial bodies may be connected with B., as is done in other sculptures (see lower down). If the Government had enabled LEEMANS to visit the ruin before he wrote his work, he would also have avoided the error of taking a *sénté*-leaf (*Alocasia macrorhiza* SCHOTT: an *Aroidee*) for a *banana*-leaf (*Musa paradisiaca* L.). As the *sénté* leaf is still occasionally used by Javanese for an umbrella, it is not strange that, like *payungs* and *tyemaras* (fly-flaps) it should have been borne after saints and princes as a sign of their dignity.

(2) Or GOPA. Some manuscripts mention *two* wives and name them *Gopa* and *Yasodharâ*. If it is true that *No. 54* (107 W. L.) represents the *Buddha* as a happy husband, the artist must have adhered to this statement. Ceylonese authors relate that 1000 men could not bend the bow and that the sound of the string was heard at a distance of 7000 miles. A similar bow-shot, by which a bride was won, is ascribed to other legendary heroes, as to RÂMA in the Râmâyana, and to ARJUNA in the *Mahâbhârata*. In HOMER'S *Odyssey* the suitors of PENELOPE are unable to bend the bow of ODYSSEUS, who then identifies himself and slays his rivals by his masterly shot.

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Four other sculpture-works show how, in spite of his father's precautions, the sorrows of human life are revealed to him. What, indeed, could be the use of these precautions against an angel, who appeared in four visions, only seen by Gautama and his attendant, the charioteer Chanda, and moved the future *Buddha* to renounce worldly greatness and domestic happiness; to tear himself away from his father, his wife, and his child; and in a life of seclusion, hardship and penance, self-renunciation and self-command, to prepare himself for the achievement of his noble, self-imposed task: the salvation of suffering mankind! At the *eastern* gate he is struck with the sight of a man broken down by old age (111 W. L., no. 6 from the *seventh* corner); then outside the *southern* gate he meets with a sick man, in the agonies of death (113 W. L., no 1 from the *eighth* corner); later on, near the *western* entrance, a corpse teaches him how all life ends (115 W. L., no. 1 from the *ninth* corner); and, finally, at the *northern* gate, a begging monk or *bhikshu* tells him of the way in which life and death can be conquered and peace can be found in the subjection of all passions and appetites (117 W. L., no. 2 from the *ninth* corner).

No. 16 (121 W. L.), next to the *western* staircase, shows him discussing his intention with his disappointed father. The sleeping watches betoken that this discussion lasts until late in the nighttime. In the next two groups (123 and 125 W. L., nos. 2 and 3 from the staircase), he communicates his resolution to his wives, and the meditative attitude, as well as the larger disc of light crowning the higher seat on which he spends the night among the sleeping women, speaks of the holy self-imposed duty of his life, which raises him for ever above his relations and friends.

The following sculpture (127 W. L, next to the *first* corner) shows how, in spite of closed doors and (sleeping) guards, he has left his home, and riding the noble sunhorse, KANTHAKA,

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departs, a homeless wanderer. The lotus-cushion, carrying him as when he descended from heaven in the shape of an elephant, as well as KANTHAKA in the next sculpture (129 W. L., no. 1 past the *second* corner) in its aërial flight, is another testimony of his heavenly mission.

The next (131 W. L., no. 2 from the *second* corner) shows him taking leave of his servant CHANDA. Then he doffs his princely robe (133 W. L., no. 3 past the *second* corner), his head-gear and arms (135 W. L., no. 4 from the *second* corner, and the next), and left behind alone, covered with the humble dress of a mendicant, enters upon the life of the meditating ascetic, whose sanctifying virtue is frequently betokened by lotus-cushion and disc of light.

In vain does MÂRA, the prince of darkness, try to stop him, by promising him the universal rule over the *four* worlds, east, south, west, and north (1). But SIDDHÂRTHA, now far from his native town *Kapilavastu*, has already entered upon the new life, by which he may claim the name of *Sàkya-muni* (the *Sâkya-sage*) (2).

The next sculpture- works show the penitent dressed as the *Buddha*, with the *urna* and the *tiara*, the coil of hair on his brow and the top-knot, with lotus-cushion and disc of light, adored by princes and subjects, priests and laymen, men and women and celestials.

No. 72 (141 W. L.), n0. 1 from the *third* comer, shows him as a disciple of the Brahman teacher *Alâra* (3), who is, however, unable to teach anything that he, his superior in wisdom, does not know. The superiority of the *Sâkya* is betokened by his *Buddha*-posture and lotus-throne.

The next sculpture (143 W. L.), next to the *fourth* corner, represents him with another hermit, UDRAKA (4). This teacher,

(1) The fifth, the ZENITH, it was not in the power of the Evil one, to dispose of.

(2) Some say *muni* means hermit or ascetic.

(3) LEEMANS calls him: ARALA KALAMA.

(4) Called RUDRA by LEEMANS.

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also being inferior in wisdom to *Buddha*, the sage leaves him likewise, followed by five of his disciples.

In the next sculpture- work (n^{0}. 2 from the *fouth* corner, 145 W. L.), we see him approaching *Râjagriha* (1), the capital of *Magadha*. King BÎMBISÂRA with his queen is going to meet him to tender his homage and offer him *half his kingdom* which is, of course, declined.

The first two scenes on the north side (151 and 153 W. L., nos 1 and 2 from the fifth corner) place him with his five followers on the bank of a stream, where he strives in vain for wisdom by fasting and self-mortification.

Failing in these efforts, he gives up his penance, but at the same time loses the esteem of his disciples, who forsake him, the apostate, as thy think him, to continue their penance somewhere else. Six years' suffering has taught him that a sound mind lives only in a sound body.

No. 87 (161 W. L.), next to the *seventh* corner, represents SUJÂTÂ, the daughter of a village chief, nursing the nearly exhausted penitent, who is re-invigorated by the cow-milk offered him by the pious woman.

A similar representation is seen in no. 84 (167 W. L., no. 4 from the *seventh* corner). It may be the same incident in his life, modified by tradition and repeated as a different one. More such repetitions are met with.

At length *Sakya-muni* has attained his object. He has grasped all wisdom and truth is his strength. He has become *Buddha*, that is the *enlightened* one; as the *awakening light of heaven* he will go forth into the world, which is oppressed by darkness, to teach the true doctrine, the *dharma*, by which men can be saved from sin.

Seated on rushes, under a fig-tree, to be held sacred from that time as the *tree of wisdom*, the *bodhidruma*, he is going

(1) The Javanese would now say *Griya raja*, i. e. the *king's house*.

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through his last struggle with the Evil one, who, once more conquered, will leave him for ever.

No. 94 (187 W. L., no. 1 from the *first* corner past the *northern* flight of stairs) shows arms of false gods and demons showered upon and around him, but coming down harmless like flowers. A second and larger disc of light perhaps signifies his increasing strength: the magnificence of the rising sun in its full splendour.

The next sculpture-work (189 W. L., next to the *second* corner) tells us of MÂRA's endeavours to subdue him through the charms of his daughters, the *apsarasas* (the rosy morning mists). But it is in vain that one of her draws near in the guise of sweet YASÔDHARÂ *Rahula mata* (the mother of *Râhula*, Siddhârtha 's son), he has conquered every passion and weakness, and will henceforth live a life of *love* embracing all creatures.

As a revered teacher he now sets out for *Banaras (Benares)*, as is shown by the last sculptures of the north side and the first of the east.

No. 117 (233 W. L.) next to the *eighth* corner, represents him preaching the truth, the *dharma*, to the five disciples, whom he has found back, and who now remain his faithful adherents.

The last three sculptures of the whole series, which lead us back to tbe point from wich we started, speak of the greatness of the *Buddha*, but neither of his journey to his native town, nor of the conversion of his father and his son, his wife and his foster-mother (the first Buddhist nuns).

The last but one of the whole series (no. 2 from the *ninth* corner or no. 2 north of the eastern stairs, 237 W. L.), representing the washing of his corpse, must relate to the Buddha's death, though the *sitting* posture may seem incompatible with this interpretation. We ought to remember, however, that this posture, though in other instances it signifies *meditation*, in this case also seems to express *rest*, the rest of *nirvâna*,

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and is, besides, the posture that, among the *Dhyâni-Buddhas* marks Amitâbha, the saviour of *this* world, whose image on the four lower walls, opposite to sunset, commands the West. The circumstance that the three *Dhyâni-Buddhas*, represented in the first of the sculpture-works described above (the fourth of the whole series), have the same posture, may be owing to the sculptor's intention to shadow forth the perfect rest of death, after the accomplishment of their life-tasks. The two monks, standing on either side of the *Buddha*, and pouring water upon him, can hardly be intended for any other signification but the purification of his body (1).

In the *last* sculpture (no. 3 from the *ninth* corner, 239 W. L.), the *Buddha* is enthroned in the same posture, perhaps as the glorified deceased or as the immortal TATHÂGATA; who, notwithstanding the dissolution of his body, living in his doctrine, cannot die.

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(1) An analogous representation is seen, on the chief temple of *Parambanan*, of the death of king DASJARATHA, the father of RÂMA but his body is washed by only one man. See my work, published by the *Koninklijk Instistuut* in 1893, Illustration XVII. C. 7, and my Guide for the visitors of the *Hindoebouwvallen in de Parambananvlakte*," mentioned above (the English edition).

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VII.

Several years ago, when I began to study the vast ruin, I was of opinion (as I wrote in my first description of the *Barabudur*, *Indische Gids* 1887), that other series of sculpture-works, at least the lower ones of the inner wall and the upper ones of the outer wall of the first gallery, contained representations of *earlier lives* of the *Buddha*, the *jâtakas* of the man who is venerated by all Buddhists, both of the Northern and the Southern church, as the saviour of *this* world, and who about 24 centuries back was born for the *last* time and, having accomplished his heavenly task, entered upon the eternal rest, after which no re-birth follows, though — according to the Mahâyânists—the primordial Buddha should manifest himself to a world *hereafter*, as the saviour of the beings peopling that world.

In July 1896, when I attended the King of *Siam* for three consecutive days upon his visit to the *Barabudur*, this competent critic declared that he agreed with me in opinion, particularly with respect to the lower series of the inner wall.

But these *jâtakas* were inaccessible to me, as long as they had not been translated from the original *Sanskrit* or *Pâli* texts.

In 1893 and 1894 Professor *Speyer* contributed to the „*Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut*" an English translation of 34 legends from the *Jâtakamâlâ* or *Jâtaka-garland*, and in 1897 Professor KERN published in the same periodical a translation of a treatise (as far as it referred to the *Barabudur*) by the Russian scholar SERGIUS E. OLDENBURG, on the *jâtaka*-sculptures of three different Buddhistic monuments. DR. KERN, in fact, had previously been kind enough to write to me about this translation.

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Some of the legends treated in SPEYER'S *Jâtakamâlâ* we easily recognize in the upper series of the outer wall of the first gallery, and some others in this series and in other sculptures, also in the lower series of the inner wall of the same gallery.

In November 1898 I visited the *Barabudur* to examine all these sculptures, as far as they were still in existence and recognizable, for since the examination of LEEMANS' work by OLDENBURG some had got entirely lost and others had been greatly damaged.

They will be treated briefly in this chapter.

In mentioning the numbers assigned to these sculpture-works in LEEMANS' illustrated work, I shall again count the sculpture-works from the preceding stairs or from such or such a corner beyond that flight of stairs. In this numeration the sculpture-works that have got lost, must, however, be included (as is done by LEEMANS), otherwise the number would have to be altered after every new loss.

By *corner-sculptures* are meant those which occupy two sides of a corner. On the engravings in LEEMANS' work they are cut into two by a perpendicular line.

Upper series on the outer wall of the first gallery. Eastern stairs 3, 4 and 5 from the *second* corner (W. L. 16, 17, 18; engraving CXXXVIII).

One day, the Lord, in the shape of a wealthy, charitable *merchant*, was about to fill the bowl of a mendicant monk, when MÂRA, the Evil one, opened between him and the monk an abyss, in which the damned were tortured by hell-fire. The merchant, borne by a lotus-flower, passes unhurt across hell, and the monk, having received the merchant's gifts, ascends to heaven in a shining cloud. In reality the monk was a Pratyeka Buddha, a heavenly saint.

No. 3 shows the merchant carrying his gift, in No. 4 he crosses hell, and in No. 5 is seen the monk's ascent to heaven.

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11 en 12 from the *second* corner (24 and 25 W. L.). Once the Bodhisatva was a *hare,* living at peace with all animals in a wild country, frequented by hermits. His fame having reached heaven, INDRA, the Lord of Heaven, in the form of a traveller, wearied with fatigue and hunger, approaches him to try his disposition. INDRA receives fish from an otter, a lizard and a dish of curds (left behind by another traveller) from a jackal, and succullent fruit from a monkey, but the hare, having nothing to bestow but bitter grass, offers the hungry Lord his own body and throws himself down upon a fire (lit by INDRA 's power) to be roasted.

But then the god, assuming his celestial form, saves the hare, still uninjured, from the flames, and carries him to heaven, where he adorns his own abode and the dwelling-places of the *devas,* and finally the moon, with the figure of the hare.

In 11 the animals carry their gifts to INDRA and in 12 the hare is in the act of throwing himself on the fire.

18 from the *second* corner, the corner image itself, and 1 and 2 from the *third* corner (31,32,33,34 W. L.).

The Lord as the *king* of a happy people.

One day 5 *yakshas* (demons), banished from the lower world by KUVERA, the god of wealth, come to him. A shepherd had spoken to them of the king 's virtues with much praise, so they wanted to try him.

They ask him for a good meal, but refuse to accept what the king offers them. They demand blood and flesh of men.

The king, wishing to satisfy his guests without sacrificing any of his subjects, offers them his own blood and flesh, notwithstanding the expostulations of his ministers and courtiers.

The *yakshas,* touched by so much self-sacrificing goodness are converted to the doctrine of the king, who admonishes them to do what is good and avoid what is wicked (a. o. he recommends abstention from intoxicating liquors). INDRA descends from heaven to praise the king and heal his wounds.

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18 and the corner sculpture represent the 5 *yakshas* and the shepherd; 1 and 2 the *yakshas* in the presence of the king.

The 5 *yakshas*, reborn into men, became disciples of the brahman UDRAKA and then followed the Lord as his first adherents (1).

3, 4 and 5 from the *fourth* corner (37, 38, 39 W. L.). At one time the Lord was a royal prince, the son of the good and wise king of the *Shibis*, SAMJAYA. Riding upon his famous white elephant, he was met by some brahmans, who desired him to give up the noble animal for another king, their master. The prince grants their request.

The courtiers persuade his father to banish the prince on account of this deed; and mounting his princely carriage with MADRÎ, his wife, and their two children, he leaves home. Some other brahmans, met on his way, ask him for his splendid horses. The prince, leaving the horses to them, is going to draw the carriage himself.

Another brahman begs for the carriage, and all alight and continue their journey on foot, the prince carrying their little son, the mother their daughter.

Trees do homage to them by bending down their branches, ponds covered with lotus-flowers supply them with water to drink, and clouds give them shade; in this way they reach a spot in the mountains, where INDRA himself has prepared a bower for them.

One day, the mother having gone out into the wood to gather roots and fruit for their dinner, a brahman came and demanded the prince's children, who were bound and carried away.

The mother, on her return, is inconsolable. An earthquake has caught the attention of INDRA in heaven, who, upon hearing of its cause, assumes the shape of another brahman and asks the exile to give up his wife. Notwithstanding her entreaties she too is yielded by the prince, but then INDRA makes

(1) See above p. p. 31, 32 and 33.

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himself known to both and reinstates the prince in the possession of all he lost and in his rank at the court of his father.

3 shows the prince giving up the elephant; 4 the children, 5 the yakshas attending the carriage.

1, 2, 3, 4 from the *fifth* corner (48, 49, 50, 51 W. L.).

At one time the Lord was a *king,* to whom one of his subjects offered his daughter, an exceedingly beautiful woman. Messengers, sent by the king to the man's house, that they may see the daughter, dissuade their master from marrying the maid, lest her dazzling beauty should drive him to insanity.

Then she is married to one of the king 's servants. One day, on a drive through the town, the king sees the woman who puts him in such raptures that he inquires who she is. Being told that she is married, he conquers his passion so completely as to decline the offer of her husband, who beseeches the king to receive her from him. The monarch subordinates his personal happiness to his sense of justice.

1, the maid is offered to the king; 2, the meeting of the messengers with the maid; 3, their report to the king; 4, the king sees the woman on his drive through the town;

5 from the *fifth* corner (52 W. L.).

Sometimes the Lord, in the guise of an old *seaman,* who is almost blind, attends wealthy merchants on their voyages, who think they are sure of a safe passage when he is with them. In one of these voyages the ship is driven by a violent storm far from the shore into unknown seas to the end of the world.

As they were unable to change her course their destruction seemed inevitable. There is only one means by which they may be saved: a prayer that the gods may rescue them for the sake of the veracious old man's virtues. Their prayers were heard. The wind abates and the course of the ship can be

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changed. On the home voyage through an emerald sea the old sailor orders the ship to be ballasted with sands and stones from the bottom, which afterwards prove to be pure jewels and precious metals.

The only sculpture that remains shows the ship in full sea.

9 and 10 from the fifth corner (56, 57 W. L.).

The Lord at one time was a *fish* in a small lake, where all the other fish obeyed him.

Once the lake in a time of drought became a shallow muddy pool, in which the fish found no room to escape the birds of prey. But the Bodhisatva praying for rain as a reward of his virtuous life, INDRA himself comes to him; rain pours down and the god promises the future *Buddha* that the lake shall never be visited by such another plague.

9 shows the fish before, 10 after the rain-fall.

11 from the *fifth* corner (58 W. L.).

Once the Lord was born into a *quail*, which grew a great deal more slowly than the other birds in the parental nest, because it refused to eat worms and insects. One day, when a tremendous conflagration in the wood put all the animals to flight, the quail, still unable to fly, was left behind alone, but its prayer to AGNI, the god of fire, extinguished the flames. Since that time every conflagration in the wood stops at that spot.

The quail is seen in its nest, while all the other animals fly from the fire.

12 from the *fifth* corner (59 W. L.).

One day the Lord, descending from heaven in the shape of INDRA (1), converted the royal drunkard SARVAMITRA. As a brahman he approaches the King in one of his drinking-bouts,

(1) One of many instances showing that, according to the doctrine of the Northern Buddhists, the Hindu divinities are *Bodhisatvas* or future *Buddhas*.

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and offers him a jug of *sura*, speaking in such strong terms of the pernicious qualities of that fermented liquor, that the prince, deeply moved and convinced of the curse that threatens him, does homage to the preacher as a *guru* (teacher). Then the Lord reveals that he is the divine INDRA and exhorts him to shun the liquor that one day he may live with him in heaven.

The sculpture represents INDRA, as a brahman, offering his jug to the King.

3, 4, 5, 6 from the *seventh* corner (65, 66, 67, 68 W. L.).

At one time the Lord lived, as a *brahman*, wit 6 younger brothers and 1 sister, in severe penance in the primeval forest. Only once in five days all of them met in his hut to hear him teach the Law. For the rest they did not see each other, not even at meals, for each came in his turn in the order of their age, to fetch his portion of lotus-stalks, previously got ready for them upon lotus-leaves.

In order to try him INDRA takes away the Lord's portion on five consecutive days, and on the next preaching-day, as the others see their brother greatly weakened, and hear of the cause, they call down upon the supposed thief a punishment consisting in all imaginable sorts of worldly pleasures. Three strange witnesses, a *yaksha*, an elephant and a monkey, join in their imprecations. But then INDRA comes and tells that he is the culprit and humbles himself before the Lord.

3 and 4 show the ascetics in the wood; 5 the lotus-pond, and 6 INDRA in their midst.

11, 12, 13 from the *seventh* corner (73, 74, 75 W. L.). Upon another time the Lord, then a wealthy *brahman*, had divested himself of all his property, and led a mendicant's life in the primeval forest. His wife, unwilling to desert her husband, had followed him.

One day the king, who was hunting in the wood, met with them, and, struck with the beauty of the woman, ordered his servants to carry her off to his *zenana*. Notwithstanding his

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wife's cries of distress, the hermit offers no resistance, and being asked by the king what is the reason, discourses upon the virtues of patience and self-denial, which moves the king to beg his forgiveness and honour him as his superior.

11 shows the brahman and his wife on their way to the wood; 12 the king hunting and 13 the wife carried off.

15, 16, 17 from the *seventh* corner and 1 from the *eight* (77, 78, 79, 81 W. L.).

Once the Lord was a *swan*, ruling over hundreds of thousands of swans in lake *Mânasa*. With his vice-roy SUMUKHA he promoted the happiness of all and his fame spread to the court of the king of *Benares*, who felt a great desire to see the swans. He therefore ordered a lake to be dug, still more beautiful than *Mânasa* and public notice was given that all the birds that wished to come there could do so safely. Some young swans happened to find it and as they praised it loudly, all the swans desired so strongly for the new lake that the Lord at length consented to their departure for *Benares*. Shortly afterwards, however, their protector was caught in a snare by one of the king's fowlers, when all the swans flew back to *Mânasa*, except SUMUKHA, who remained behind with the captive and offered himself to the fowler instead of his master. Deeply moved the fowler sets the two birds free, but the Lord desires a meeting with the king, whom he persuades not to punish, but rather to reward his servant. The king, having offered the two swans costly presents, which they decline to accept, leaves them free to return to their people.

15 contains the figures of the swans in lake *Manasa;* 16 shows the king receiving the information about the lake; the capture of the Lord is represented in 17; but one is entirely lost. It was the appearance of the two swans before the king.

5, 6, 7, 8 from the *ninth* corner (90, 91, 92, 93 W. L.). At one time the Lord was a *sharabha* (a fabulous *deer*) in the forest.

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The king, in pursuit of the deer, was precipitated into a chasm which his horse could not leap across. The noble *sharabha*, upon seeing the king in this plight, descends into the chasm, carries him out and shows him the way home, after exhorting him to persevere in all princely virtues.

5 the king hunting; 6 on the brink of the abyss; 7 saved by the deer; 8 the parting.

2, 3, 4, 5 from the *southern stairs*, (95, 96, 97, 98 W. L.).

At another time the Lord was a *ruru*, a *stag*, reigning as a father and teacher over all other beasts of the forest. One day he rescued a man out of a swollen stream, desiring no reward but silence about the incident.

Now the Queen, whose dreams always came true, dreamt of such a stag, seated on a throne and preaching the Law. Then the king promised a great reward to him who should show the wonderful animal. The man who had been saved by the stag, not proof against the temptation of the promised reward, broke his word: he led the king to the wood and pointed out the stag. He was punished at once: the hand used in pointing fell off its arm, as if cut off by the stroke of a sword.

Then the stag addressed the king, asking who had been his guide. The king indicates the man, who, being recognized by the stag, was severely rebuked for the breach of his promise by the stag, and even threatened with death by the king. But the stag intercedes in his behalf, begging the king 's pardon for the weak man, who had recklessly forfeited his salvation in this world and the next. The king then takes pity on the guilty man and leads the generous animal to his court where, seated upon a throne, it preaches the law of charity, thus fulfilling the Queen's dream.

2, the animals in the wood; 3, the man saved out of the water; 4, the king with the stag; 5, the guide pardoned by the king.

6, 7, 8, 9 from the *southern* stairs (99, 100, 101, 102 W. L.).

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Once the Lord, being a *king* of *monkeys*, lived upon a fruitful fig-tree in a wood of the Himâlayas. Lest the tree should be betrayed to hunters, he ordered his monkeys to prevent every fruit on a particular branch overhanging some stream from ripening. Yet one fruit, being unperceived, ripened, fell down into the stream, and was driven to a place where the king of the country with his wives was fishing. Never finer fruit had been seen or tasted by the king, who now went up the stream to find the tree. On seeing the monkeys he orders them to be killed or driven away. Flight is made impossible for the poor animals by a cleft that can be crossed by none but the Lord. He reaches the mountain-side, where he is out of danger, finds a long and firm bamboo, leaps back, and by means of the bamboo and his back, forms a kind of bridge by which all escape. not however without the Lord having his skin sadly injured by the toes of the monkeys.

The animal fainting with pain and loss of blood, is caught by the hunters, who had witnessed this scene with great astonishment; they put him down gently and nurse him tenderly.

Being recovered from his swoon. the Lord answers their inquiries by saying that he had done only what was his *duty* as a prince, who ought to *serve*, not *be served by*, his subjects.

6 and 7, the king takes the fig; 8, looking for the tree; 9, the wonderful flight of the monkeys.

10 from the *southern* stairs and the *first* corner figure (103, 104 W. L.).

The Lord, living as an *ascetic* in a wood, preached forbearance to all who came to him. One day the king with his wives had been amusing himself by the side of a stream, where he fell asleep, while the women were bathing. On awakening he did not perceive the women, and only after a while he found them attentively listening to the words of the hermit. The king, irritated by jealousy, called the preacher a hypocrite and threatened him with his word. The sage, however, remained calm, and

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the wicked prince, more exasperated than appeased by the entreaties of his wives not to injure the good man, cut off his hands, his feet, his nose, and his ears. But not a word of complaint was uttered by the poor sufferer, who feared only that his cruel tormentor might become guilty of the death of an innocent man.

A dreadful punishment awaited the king: when he went away, leaving his victim dying, the earth opened before him and he sank away into flames rising from the abyss.

The sculptor represented the king sleeping in 10, and going to look for his wives in the corner sculpture. I think 1 and 2 from the (*first*) corner (105, 106 W. L.) represent the widows, returning home.

5 from the *second* corner (111 W. L.).

One day the Lord, then a *devarshi* (*a sage among the celestials*) looked down from *Brahmaloka* upon earth, where the infidel king of *Videha* lived in iniquity, forgetting all pious virtues.

Descending in celestial splendour the Lord approached the king, to teach him that there is a life after this life, as surely as other lives preceded. Then he speaks of the tortures of hell, that are in store for the infidel who is not converted to a better life. The king, moved by the words of the Lord, prays him to be his guide in the right way (1).

The sculpture shows the celestial preaching and the king listening.

6, 7, 8, 9 from the *second* corner (112, 113, 114, 115 W. L.) Living in the forest as an *elephant*, the Lord one day met 700 travellers who had lost their way. They had been one thousand in number, banished by the king, 300 had perished and the remaining were near being killed by exhaustion.

(1) Hell, according to the doctrine of the Buddhists, is not a place of *eternal* punishment, as with the Christians.

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The elephant shows them the way to a stream that will refresh them, and in the vicinity of which they will find a dead elephant that may serve them as food and provision upon their journey.

Then the noble-hearted animal, by a shorter way, hastens to the spot indicated, where, precipitating itself down from the high bank, it is crushed upon the rocks. There the exiles find it, and angels, descending from Heaven, sing the praises of the Lord.

6, the elephant meeting the exiles; 7, the exiles going to the stream; 8, the elephant about to throw itself down the precipice; 9, the dead body of the saviour worshipped by those he saved.

10, 11, 12, 13 from the *second* corner (116, 117, 118, 119 W. L.).

This is one of the most important *jâtakas*. A *King's son*, SUTASOMA (the Bodhisatva) is walking with his wives in the park. A brahman, approaching them, begins an oration on virtue, when all are startled by the sudden appearance of a monster, the incestuous offspring of a king by a lioness. The monster lived on the flesh of man, and would have been killed by his own subjects, but for the interference of demons to whom he had promised a sacrifice of 100 royal princes. Now he came to carry off SUTASOMA, who resolves to follow him, that he may be able to convert him.

Upon his arrival in the robber's den, the prince remembers that he has not heard the brahman's sermon to the end and has not rewarded the preacher; so he asks permission to go back, promising to return and put himself at the disposal of the robber for a sacrifice.

The monster, having already completed the number of 100 princes, allows SUTASOMA to go, beforehand rejoicing that he will commit a deadly sin by breaking his promise.

But the prince does not break his word, for he considers that the monster has become his benefactor, now that it has

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permitted him to enjoy the brahman's sermon, and for this reason has a greater claim to compassion and deliverance from the curse of his birth. And when the robber in astonishment asks the prince what the brahman has taught him, SUTASOMA discourses so eloquently upon the Law, that the monster is really converted, releases his prisoners and goes with the prince to his residence.

In 10 we see SUTASOMA meeting the brahman, in 11 S. carried off by the robber, in 12 S. hearing the sermon of the brahman, in 13 the robber's conversion.

14, 16, 17 from the *second* and 2 from the *third* corner (120, 122, 123, 127 W. L.).

Once the Lord was born a *son of a king,* whose elder sons had all died soon after their birth.

To make him escape the evil influence of the *yakshas*, he was bred in an *iron house* (*ayogriha).*

When a youth, he saw, on a drive through the town, many things that made him reflect, how illness, old age and death threaten man, and how storm, flood and fire destroy his property.

So he made up his mind to ask his father's permission to forsake the world and live in the wilderness, for, so he thinks, from the moment of the conception in the maternal womb all that lives is devoted to death and is bound to kill in order to live, but nobody can kill death, not even the *devas,* nor the angels.

His father asking him, if death is not equally sure to reach him in the wilderness, he answers: „Yes, it is, but it will not reach me there in a state so unfit for the preparation to death, as life here is."

At length his father yields and now the prince devotes himself to *dhyâna,* the pious meditation which will cause him to pass from this life into *Brahmaloka.*

14 shows the prince newly born; 16 adored by a brahman; 17 riding; 2 from the second corner, the prince's life as an ascetic in the wilderness.

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In the corner figure and the one next to the *third* corner (124, 126 W. L.) I think I see the prince, like *Siddhârtha* afterwards, taking leave of his father and his wives (1).

2, 3, 5 from the *fourth* corner (129, 130, 132 W. L.).

Once, being a huge *bull* in the wild forest, the Lord was continually harassed by a big monkey. A *yaksha* advises him to be less tolerant and tread the monkey under foot or knock him dwon. But the bull replies that the monkey cannot help being what he is, so that his whims ought to be borne patiently and forgiven. Suffering bad treatment is, says he, the best means to practise forbearance, which alone can make the wrongdoer reflect and repent.

2, the bull with the monkey; 3, the bull and the *yaksha;* 5, the speech of the bull.

6, 7, 8, 9 from the *fourth* corner (133, 134, 135, 136 W. L.).

One day, the Lord, who was a *wood-pecker* then, met with a lion, which had a bone sticking in its throat.

The wood-pecker got the lion out of the difficulty by putting a piece of wood in its mouth and extracting the bone.

A long time afterwards the wood-pecker was flying about in search of food and met the lion near an antilope, killed a moment before. The wood-pecker, being nearly famished, after long hesitation, made bold to ask for a part of the lion's prey, but the latter refuses, asking the wood-pecker whether she was tired of life, and remarking that she ought to be glad once to have escaped from its mouth. A lion is not guilty of unmanly compassion.

Abashed the wood-pecker flies up, followed by a faun, who advises her to peck out the lion's eyes and take of its prey as much as she likes. The wood-pecker replies that there is nothing like virtue: He who acts well, is sure to find his reward in a life hereafter; he who returns evil for evil is sure to lose the merit of his virtues.

(1) See page 30.

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The faun praises the sanctity and wisdom of the wood-pecker and vanishes.

6, the lion and the wood-pecker in the forest; 7, the lion suffering; 8, the wood-pecker coming to help the lion; 9, the lion refuses part of its prey to the wood-pecker.

Besides these *jâtakas*, which SPEYER'S translation has made accessible to us, OLDENBURG mentions the following in the same series:

6, 7, 8, 9 from the *western* stairs (192, 193, 194, 195 W. L.).

The Lord, being a *turtle* in the sea (6), perceives a ship sinking and surrounded by sharks and other fishes (7). Taking the crew and the passengers on his back (8), he carries them to the shore (probably of a desert island), where he offers them his own body as food (9).

On the outer-wall of the *fifth* (the topmost) gallery, the 2nd figure from the southern stairs (W. L. CCCLXXXIX, 4), according to OLDENDURG, represents the Lord, as the horse BALÂHA, carrying travellers across the sea.

And in the lower series of the inner wall of the *first* gallery:

3, from the *eastern* staircase and 1 from the *first* corner (6, 8 W. L.), represents:

King DAKSHINA PANTYÂLA in conversation with the enchanted *nâga Janmatyitra*. The spell is broken by the adjurations of the *hunter* HALAKA (the *Lord*). Gratitude of the *nâga* and reception of the hunter in the abode of te nâga, which is recognizable by the snakes in its hairs.

1 from the *second* corner (10 W. L.).

The *Kinnarî* princess MANOHARÂ by lake *Brahmasabhâ*, conversing with a *Kinnarî* (or rather a *Kinnara*, the image representing a very thin man, perhaps a penitent). This jâtaka forms a separate series.

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2 from the same corner (10 W. L.).

Prince SUDHANA (the Lord) leading the princess to his dwelling.

4 (16 W. L.).

The prince taking leave of his mother.

5 (18 W. L).

His meeting with INDRA.

6 (20 W. L.).

The king (the prince's father ?) speaking (to whom?) about his son.

1 from the *third* corner (22 W. L.).

The princess flying away.

1 from the *fourth* corner (24 W. L.).

The prince, after a military expedition, speaking with his father.

2 (26 W. L.).

The prince with his mother.

4 (30 W. L.).

The prince with the hermit (which ?).

1 from the fifth corner (32 W. L.).

The prince in the Kingdom of the *Kinnaras*, by the pond. (The other persons are women, *Kinnarîs* ?).

2 (34 W. L.).

The trial of the bow (probably a *svayamvara*, as in 97 W. L. in the upper series, and then winning the bride.

3 (36 W. L.).

The trial with the girls (?).

4 (38 W. L.).

Dancing *Kinnarîs.*

1 from the sixth corner (40 W. L.).

The prince and princess on their return, distributing presents (Probably the return to his parents after his marriage).

Finally in the same series, beyond the *northern* stairs and the *fifth* corner, 3 (216 W. L.).

The Lord meeting four maidens after the shipwreck.

4 (218 W. L.).

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Meeting with *eight* girls.

1 from the *sixth* corner (220 W. L.).

Meeting with *sixteen* girls—only eleven being represented.

1 from the *seventh* corner (222 W. L.).

Meeting with thirty-two girls, no more than fourteen being represented.

And 2 (224 W. L.).

Sojourn in the town of the 32 maidens Arrival at the *Pretas* (1). The wheel falling on the head of *Maitra-Kanyaka.*

Though OLDENBURG gives no further explanations I think we must still notice a few sculptures in the upper series of the outer wall of the first gallery, which do not represent *jâtakas*, as they show the *Buddha* himself, mostly in a preaching posture, the thumb and forefinger of his right hand forming the *tyakra* (See lower down).

They are 15 from the *second* corner beyond the *eastern* stairs (28 W. L.); 2 from the *fifth* corner beyond the *western* stairs (235 W. L.); 4 and 8 from the *seventh* corner (252 and 256 W. L.). The curls in the hair of the last-mentioned figure are not well-finished.

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(1) *Pretas* are spectres and shades of dead persons.

The Maitrakanjaka-legend is a *jâtaka* illustrating the meaning of the *Karma*-dogma.

See on this interesting story my article that will shortly appear in the *Weekblad voor Indië*, Sourabaya July 1906.

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VIII.

A few additional remarks about some scenes of the following three galleries.

No double series are found there, but the sculptured parts, especially of the inner walls of the second and the fourth gallery are higher and of excellent workmanship.

A photograph, mede by CEPHAS, of the *thirtieth* of the former series — next to the *eighth* corner beyond the eastern stairs — proves that WILSEN'S drawings are not exact and complete in every particular, so that no reliable inferences can be made from them, without the sculptures themselves being consulted (1).

Comparing the drawings with the photograph, we notice that the two inner pilasters of the little temple have not been drawn accurately, and that the two outer pilasters, behind the standing women, have been left out; that the disc of light *behind* the saint sitting *in* the temple preposterously sticks out *in front* of the mouldings over the entrance to the little temple.

The figures of the lions and the covering of the throne are greatly misdrawn. So are the *payung* of the visitor and the flowers in the vase bij his side. So are the garlands and the bells, both in shape and position. The second parrot on the right over the right-hand *bo-tree,* and a bunch of flowers on the right under the *bodhidruma* are omitted.

(1) The photographs of the Barabudur made by VAN KINSBERGEN, by order of the Government, not being in my possession, I cannot determine the degree, in which they can serve to supply the deficiencies in WILSEN'S drawings. The difficulty of making photographic pictures at the short distance allowed by the narrow galleries of the B. B. has been overcome by the progress made by the photographic art of late. So what was impossible formerly, might be tried now.

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The hands of the visitor raised and joined to a *sĕmbah* (1) are not well drawn, as only the fingertops touch each other. so that there is no *sĕmbah* to be seen; his right foot is wanting.

Such mistakes can be pointed out in other drawings by any one who compares them with the sculptures or with photographs (which cannot be false); so the drawings, however correct and meritorious in the main, are not accurate enough for the explanation of some details.

I also wish to refer to this image as a double proof of the veneration in wich was held the *bo*-tree, marked by princely parasols and *tyamaras* (fly-flaps), bij lotus-flowers and *dâgaba*-bells. Such fig-trees are still reared and venerated in the vicinity of all pagodas in Ceylon (and elsewhere), and, in consequence of that veneration by Buddhistic ancestors, *kiaras* and *banyans* and similar kinds of trees are held sacred by the Javanese. So the trees in the court-yards, the *alun-aluns*, in front of the *kratons* and *dalems* of princes and chiefs, were originally meant for a homage to *Buddha*. The divine teacher and his doctrine have been forgotten; one of the forms of worship remains.

The *eighteenth* and the *twenty-second* sculpture — 2 from the *fifth* and 1 from the *sixth* corner — deserve mention on account of the winged conch-shell, the *sankha*, which together with *payungs* and *tyamaras* serves as a token of dignity. Even in our own days Javanese princes have the *tyakra*, the *trisula*, and other divine weapons among their *ampilan* (2); so the *sankha*, the war-shell of god *Vishnu*, is not necessarily an evidence that the person after whom it is carried as *ampilan*,

(1) I saw the Buddhists in Ceylon perform the *sĕmbah* in the same way as the Javanese do, viz. with the palm of their hands joined. This form of paying respect is also shown in all the sculptures in Java. Perhaps it was introduced into Java by the Indian Buddhists.

(2) See the second illustration and the text of my work: *In den Kĕdaton te Jogjakarta*, published by *E. J. Brill*, and especially my later work, published by the Kon. Instituut: *De garĕbĕgs te Jogjâkartâ*, IX and the text.

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is the god himself; though, according to the Mahâyânists, the *Buddha* is the ninth *avatâra* of that sun-god. But there are really some *Hindu* divinities among the following sculptures.

That the four-armed figure in 48—5 from the *fourth* corner beyond the *southern* staircase—sitting in the posture of a *Buddha*, represents Siva, is made probable by the throne being borne by a *nandi*, the *vâhana* or vehicle of the god. Perhaps the god is here a future *Buddha*; a *Bodhisatva* (1).

The head, which is wanting, might have thrown some light upon this matter.

Similar figures of divinities are found in 100, 101, 102, 104 W. L., 1, 2, 3, 5 from the *second* corner beyond the *northern* stairs (2).

The first is a four-armed figure in *Buddha*-posture on a lotus-throne and provided with the disc of light. The left hands hold an elephant's hook and a lotus-flower. The things in the right hands cannot be made out. The throne is adorned with lions, elephants and *nâgas* (mythic snakes). The four arms with one face may be indicative of VISHNU, and the *Buddha*-figure in the *makuta* or crown betokens Buddhism. (3). Now

(1) Since the sculptures of *tyandi Parambanan* have been dug up it is evident that this god and other divinities are *Bodhisatvas*. See my work on those highly interesting temples, published by the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de T. L. en V. kunde van N. I.* and *„Hindoebouwvallen in de Parambanan-vlakte"*, mentioned above. See also KERN II p. 292 *et seq.*

(2) Mr. GROENEVELDT wrote to me some time before the discoveries of *Parambanan*, „The theory according to which these images represent famous princes cannot be maintained. Siva was one of the *lokiçvaras* of the *Buddha*-pantheon, to which other Brahman gods were likewise admitted. So were the holy queens of LEEMANS, i. e. *Târâs* or Saktis (gods' wives or virtues)." See the next note.

(3) As late of 1896 I too thought that by such a Buddha figure in the crown the wearer of the crown is characterized as a *Bodhisatva* of the *Dhyâni-Buddha*, whose figure is in the crown. The king of *Siam* denied this. He himself, like other Buddhist princes, wore Buddha figures in his crown. Now I *never* saw another figure in such a crown than that of AMITÂBHA, the *fourth* Dhyâni-Buddha, the Buddha of *this* world. See my paper in *Eigen Haard* 1897, parts 42 and 43. Now if those figures were marks of Bodhisatvas, is it probable that only PADMAPÂNI, the *fourth* Bodhisatva, should have been represented in this way? I think not.

If, however, Buddha *princes* are meant, it is easy to understand that they never wear in their crowns another Buddha than the Buddha of the *present* world.

As the images on the temple are unmistakably images of *gods*, they only characterize them as Buddhistic.

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Buddha being an *avatâra* of VISHNU, this god appearing as a *Bodhisatva* cannot in the least surprise.

The next figure (2 from the *second* corner) likewise has four arms, but is greatly damaged, so that we cannot determine whom it represents.

The same thing must be said of the third figure. That it has *six* arms, is something abnormal, unless the sculptor had the intention to represent SIVA as *Bodhisatva*.

The fourth figure (5 from the same corner W. L. 104) would perhaps be recognized only with difficulty in the drawing of WILSEN, but the original on the ruin incontestably shows the crowned serpent as an *upavîta*, typical either of SIVA or of his son GANESA. The latter, however, cannot be meant, as he is always represented in the shape of an elephant.

Another figure (W. L. 106, or the seventh from the *second* corner) is remarkable, because the temple, holding a *Târâ* (or a goddess?), though not seated on a lotus-throne, is crowned with five *trisulas*. But there are no other marks characterizing this woman as DURGÂ, SIVA'S *sakti* (1).

Single in its kind is the *sixty-ninth* sculpture — 2 from the *second* corner beyond the *northern* stairs— of the inner-wall of the next, the *third*, gallery. On the left a god, a *Bodhisatva* perhaps, in a temple crowned with eleven *trisulas*. On the right another divinity or *Bodhisatva* on a minor seat. Between them a tree, with swords and daggers in stead of leaves, and underneath a kettle filled with a boiling liquid over a blazing fire. Three armed men guard three fettered prisoners, who seem to pray for mercy to the second divinity. One of the servants, on the contrary, seems to await the decision of the first *Bodhisatva*.

The eleven *trisulas* are suggestive of SIVA again, perhaps in the character of KÂLA, the god of death, all-destroying Time.

(1) The lunar crescent mentioned by LEEMANS in the description of this image, is not found in this sculpture, but in the preceding one: 105.

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LEEMANS presumes this sculpture refers either to some particular event or in a general sense to infernal punishment. I think the latter supposition is admissible. At any rate this sculpture is purely symbolic. The Siamese also took it for a representation of Hell. *Buddha* is looking into Hell.

After the inspection of two more figures on the inner wall of the fourth (the highest) gallery — which has only 20 corners—, we can leave the walled-in terraces and climb higher.

The first I mean is the *fifty-seventh* (3 form the *northern* staircase). It is a *Buddha*, enthroned in a temple, over which on the rigt a blazing *tyakra* and on the left a lunar *crescent* on lotus-cushions are seen in the sky. And then the *seventieth* (2 from the *fifth* corner), a similar sculpture, but with the *sun's* disc. instead of the *tyakra* (1).

Stronger evidence can hardly be desired of the identity of the tyakra and the *sun-disc*, and of the connection between the *Buddha* and the two celestial bodies, or of VISHNU and the *Buddha* or, in other words, between the cultus of *Buddha* and *sun-worship*.

To complete my sketch I add that there are many sculptures on the inner wall of this gallery representing *more than five*, some even as many as *eighteen* Buddhas together;

that each of the terraces below us is about 10 feet above the preceding one, and that they are connected by flights of stairs of about ten steps each;

that each gallery has a width between the walls of about 7 feet and that the walls are about 5 feet thick; and finally:

that among the architectural ornaments not mentioned by me there are numerous *nâga*-heads with open mouths and up-turned muzzles, by which the rain-water flowed down from

(1) The *fourteenth* sculpture of the outer wall of the same gallery shows the sun and the moon with seven stars (planets?).

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one terrace to another and finally outside the pile. *At present* the rain-water penetrates between the stones down to the base of the ruin, oozing out laden with stone-dust and the pulverized clay of the hill itself on which the terraces of the temple were raised. In this way the foundation of the ruin is infallibly worn away gradually, so that it is sure to come down in the end, unless the Government take judicious measures in order to prevent further decay.

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IX.

From the fourth gallery twelve steps lead to the upper flat, which has 20 sides and only an outer wall, and bears a superstructure of three concentric circular terraces, one rising about 5 feet above the other and receding some ten feet, and connected by staircases of 7 or 8 steps each.

The first supports 32 open-work *dâgabas* on its outer edge; the second 24 and the third, the top one, 16 i. e. 72 in total. And inside this circle rises the central dâgaba of huge, imposing dimensions, the main conception and final crowning of the whole structure.

The many-sided upper flat and the round terraces open, through the interstices between the *dâgaba* spires of the outer wall, far and deep views of the surrounding mountain scenes, which unroll a still grander panorama to the spectator whose eye wanders undisturbed from the top of the central *dâgaba.*

All the open-work *dâgabas* have a round base, shaped like a lotus-cushion serving as *padmâsana* to the surmounting image with its bell-shaped grave-mound.

The bell with rhombic openings is 5 feet high and bears a sloping square stone-block, covered with an octagonal pyramid rounded off at the top.

The large but (formerly) *wholly closed central dâgaba* is formed after the same type, but its walls partly rise perpendicularly out of the base, which has the form of a huge lotus-cushion in a beautiful frame, and at the top end in a slightly rounded dome, which rises at least 9 yards above the topmost terrace. Of the cone which formerly surmounted this *dâgaba*

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nothing is left but part of the pedestal; a stone-block, afterwards fashioned into a seat of 5 feet high by 10 feet broad.

The visitor who climbs the rough stone steps leading to this seat, which is more than 40 yards above the overgrown hilltop, can enjoy a view, as rich, as vast, as variegated and beautiful, as ever commanded the awe or reverence either of Buddhists or of other inhabitants of the globe.

There he beholds deep, richly-watered valleys, ever verdant and flourishing, except in harvest or ploughing time, when they are yellow or brown; breathing life and animation, below the mighty spurs of the high-towering *Mènorèh* mountains and the cloud-capped crater-walls of at least five volcanoes, which frequently spread death and desolation around, but also raised new life from the soil covered with mouldering lava stone and dust (1).

How small we are, compared with the vast works of creation, but on the other hand, how rich, as children of the same creation, and how happy and great, as rational beings! (2).

(1) If the air is very clear nine volcano-tops can be counted from this point.

(2) I shall never forget the night, part of which I spent, more than 30 years ago, on that stone-block, in the light of the full moon; the dead past below me, and the immortal light overhead.

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X.

I have a few more words to add about the *Buddha* figures which gave to the temple its name of *Bara-Budda* or *Para-Budda* (1), i. e., the *many* or the *collected Buddhas.*

They all sit with crossed legs, in a posture resembling that which is called *sila* by the Javanese, but straight upright. A thin cloak, leaving the right shoulder and arm bare, is their only garment — the same that is worn by the monks of teh Southern church — and the head, covered with short curls, has the *tiara*, a round hair knot, at the top. The *urna*, a small coil of hair on the forehead, is still to be seen in some (2). The posture of each of them indicates meditation, resignation and peace of mind, possibly too the final dissolution into joyless and sorrowless *non-existence.*

There is a *slight* difference in the position of the hands among the figures turned towards east, south, west, north and the *zenith.* And there is a *greater* difference, also in the situation and surroundings, between the *Buddhas* of the outer walls and those of the circular upper terraces which are not walled-in. *All the Buddhas* of the *five* outer walls have their *left* hands resting in their laps, the back of each hand being placed on the right foot. But the figures of the *four lower* walls on the *east*-side rest the palms, those of the *south*-side rest the backs, of their right hands on their right thighs; those of the *west*-side (towards sunset) have the two hands side by side in their

(1) According to the conjecture of the ex-regent of *Magĕlang*, now *haji* or *kaji* DANU NING RAT. The Javanese mostly write *budḍa.*

(2) KERN says the *urna* is a symbol both of the *sun* and of the *lightning.*

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laps; and those of the *north* raise their right hands a little above their right thighs, the palms being turned in front and *all* the fingers close to each other pointing straight upwards. Those of the *fifth* (the topmost) outer wall, commanding *all* the quarters (or the zenith) are distinguished by the *fore fingers* of the upraised hands being *bent,* the tips of these fingers resting on the tips of the *thumbs,* so as to form *circles.*

The figures of the round upper terraces, on the contrary, hold their *two* hands before them, the palm and the finger tips of each left hand being upraised, and the palm of each right hand being turned to the left, with its fingers bent round those of the other hand. Then they have neither a throne, nor a disc of light, ruling, not in *open* temples over a world of gods, men, and animals, as represented by the sculptures beneath them, but in *closed tombs* (though with open-work), over spheres beyond that world. So there is a *greater* difference here than among the images of the enclosing walls.

But there is another image, single in its kind.

Long ago, in the early part of the 19th century, the great *dâgaba,* being opened, was found to contain two rooms, a smaller over a larger one, and in one of them some objects were found (1) together with an unfinished *Buddha*-figure made of stone, like all the others in size, but resembling in its posture only those of the four *eastern* lower walls. The unfinished state of the image cannot be accidental, or be attributed to any hindrance in the labour, for the *dâgaba,* which contained it and must have been completed afterwards, is finished.

So it must have been left unfinished on purpose, but that it was meant to represent the *future* (fifth) *Buddha,* or the *Buddha* in the act of becoming the *enlightened one,* cannot be admitted. Future *Bud-*

(1) A covered vase made of metal, containing some coins and a little figure of metal. The wells of some other Hindu temples in Java have been found to hold urns filled with ashes and coins and other articles made of precious metal, and a few coloured gems, symbols of the *sapta ratna* or seven treasures which were buried with the dead.

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dhas, Bodhisatvas, were represented in a particular shape and posture, and were marked by peculiar attributes, but not by imperfect completion. Besides, this supposition would not solve the existing questions, but only raise new ones: so it is not conclusive. The explanation of the fact may be much simpler. Perhaps it was not considered necessary to finish an image, that was to be shut up for ever and would be seen by nobody, so minutely as would have been done otherwise, and as all the other images were finished. This explanation, at least, has the advantage of being natural and simple.

But what is the meaning of the different Buddhas?

With respect to the position of the hands we may distinguish *six* groups of images, and according to other characteristic marks, there are *three* groups.

Neither more nor less.

The three groups are:

1o the 432 Buddhas of the open temple-niches on the five sculptured enclosing walls, each of them provided with a lotus-throne and a disc of light;

2o the 72 Buddhas of the open-work *covered dâgabas* on the three round terraces, *without* additional sculptures and without discs of light (1); and:

3o the exceptional *Buddha, without any ornament,* in the one chief *dâgaba,* which is, or was, perfectly closed.

According to the positions of the hands, there are *six* groups, as there are *six* different positions.

WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT was the first who expressed the opinion that *five* of the six Buddhas of the Barabudur are representations of the *five Dhyâni-Buddhas.*

Three of them: VAIROCHANA, AKSHOBYA, and RATNA SAMBHAVA, in succession, during thousands of years or of centuries delivered and ruled three successive worlds. now gone and lost; the *fourth,* AMITÂBHA — our GAUTAMA, Sâkya-MUNI — has

(1) The foot of the *dâgaba* may be taken for a lotus-throne.

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reigned over the present world for 24 centuries, and one day, after the destruction of this and the creation of a new world, will be succeeded by the *fifth* or *last*, AMOGASIDDHA, the *Buddha of love.*

Now there are, especially in the position of the hands, some points of agreement between these *five Dhyâni-Buddhas* and *five* of the six *Barabudur* groups; but points in which they differ are not wanting.

Among the Mongolians the first *two Dhyâni-Buddhas* have their seats in the East (1), the *third* in the South, the *fourth* in the West, and the *fifth* or *last* in the North (2).

Taking the position of the hands of the *Barabudur* images as the characterizing mark by which to distinguish the *Dhyâni-Buddhas*, we find that the East side is occupied only by the *second*, and the three upper terraces, which command no quarter of the horizon but the *zenith*, by the *first*. This is indeed seen somewhere else on the continent of Asia.

But who then is the *sixth* Buddha, who, represented by *all* the figures of the *fifth* (the topmost) enclosing wall, commands *all* the quarters, but cannot be a *Dhyâni-Buddha*?

This is one of the new problems, which however was completely solved by the king of *Siam* (3), as I will show presently.

That the unfinished Buddha of the great *dâgaba cannot* be the *fifth Dhyâni-Buddha*, is evident from the fact that in the positions of his hands he has resemblance, not with the fifth, but with the *second*, who is represented by 92 figures — all well finished — on the eastern lower walls.

So, if he represents any *Dhyâni-Buddha*, it must be the *second*; for whose representation there is no reason imaginable,

(1) LEEMANS, p. 450.

(2) A *sixth Buddha*, met with in *Nepâl*, of a wholly dissimilar shape, *four-armed*, adorned like a god and *crowned*, with peculiar attributes, cannot be recognized by any mark in any of the *Buddha* images of the *Barabudur*.

(3) See: „*Een Boeddhistenkoning op den Baraboedoer*" in *Tijdschrift v. Ind.- T., L.- en Vkk.* of 1896.

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If the Mahâyânists had meant to place any of the *Dhyâni-Buddhas* there, they would, of course, have preferred their own, i.e. the *fourth.* The others have only an historical meaning for them.

As the *Dhyâni-Buddha* theory does not — at least not satisfactorily — account for the *Barabudur* figures, I am inclined to think that, notwithstanding the difference in the position of the hands, all the *Buddhas* of the 5 enclosing walls together are to be considered as one separate group; those of the round terraces as another, and the one of the closed central *dâgaba* as the only representative of a *third* group; the *first* group, according to the place of the *five* different images, might then refer to the five corresponding quarters (the zenith included), which were taken possession of by SIDDHÂRTHA immediately after his birth.

If then the whole of this group represents the *Buddha* in relation to the world, which may be typified by the sculptures below him, we may, much in the manner of WILSEN and LEEMANS, see symbols of the *Buddha* as *arahat*, i. e. in a higher state of sanctity, perhaps *nirvâna*, in the figures of the round upper terraces, which seem to be above the world; whereas the Buddha who, being wholly enclosed by the central *dâgaba*, is irrevocably separated from the world, may suggest the idea of *parinirvâna*, i. e. perfect dissolution into infinite *non-existence; death without re-birth* and the *goal* of life (1).

For this *dâgaba* was a closed tomb, at one time perhaps containing the vase which was supposed to hold the ashes of the dead *Buddha;* the great sage, the stainless master, the preacher of *nirvâna;* some dust of the divine Lord, the deliverer of all who live and suffer, think, feel, and die.

Mr. GROENEVELDT, the most competent judge of the Hindu antiquities in the Malay Archipelago, is of opinion, that the unfinished figure in the central *dâgaba* is meant for *Adi-Buddha.* This explanation, which would indeed account satisfactorily

(1) I do not know of similar groups elsewhere; I therefore give my explanation for no more than it is: a position which is not proved, and may be erroneous.

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for the isolation of this single figure, is however open to some objections. One is, that the figure has the characteristic marks of the second *Dhyâni-Buddha*; another, that *Adi-Buddha*, being immaterial, hence impersonal, cannot be represented in any definite shape, so that in *Nepâl* and *Tibet* there are no images, but only emblems, of *Adi-Buddha;* either a circle or two eyes.

Is it probable that the *Mahâyânists* of Java should have done otherwise? As far as I have been able to ascertain, there are no analogous representations.

I am of opinion that this figure is *not* a *Dhyâni-Buddha*, but *the Buddha*, the perfect, enlightened teacher, who *as such* has the posture which, according to the king of Siam, is typical of the Buddha in the state of becoming Buddha and is common to the sculptures, beyond the *northern* stairs, 1 from the *first* and 1, 2, 3, 4 from the *second* corner, (187, 189, 191, 193, 195 W. L.).

Each posture has its own meaning, and there are many more than five, even in Hînayânistic *Siam*, where no *Dhyâni-Buddhas* are known.

The posture of the *sixth* Buddha of the topmost wall—which remained a puzzling question for a long time — may be explained in the same way. His thumb and forefinger, joined to form a circle, typify the *tyakra*, the symbol of the sun and at the same time of *dharma*, the Buddhistic *Doctrine*.

So Buddha is represented there as a *teacher* of all nations, hence turning to *all* quarters.

This conjecture is corroborated by the fact that in *all* the sculptures (among them the great number on the inner wall of the second gallery), representing the Buddha preaching, the thumbs and forefingers of the right hands are joined in the same way.

As preaching the doctrine is the sublimest demonstration of life in Buddhism, it is easy to understand why the preaching Buddha has his place on the topmost wall.

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XI

I subjoin a few remarks about the sculptures of the original base of the outer wall, which were discovered as late as 1886. They were successively laid bare and photographed in 1890 and then covered in the old way and withdrawn from sight. They have been cut out of a broad projecting base, which rather deep below the heavy ogive that now as a socle rests on the first outer terrace runs round the whole temple with its 36 faces. As the side-fronts of the projections — two in each of the temple-sides, which face the four quarters — are not ornamented, only 24 compartments in the 36 have sculptures. Each (1) contains either 6 or 8 sculptures, a little above three feet long by two and a half feet high. It is probable that the whole series was separated from the ogive by a system of plain mouldings, and formed a whole that was only interrupted by the four flighs of stairs.

If the 160 sculptured scenes are parts of successive events, either historical or only legendary, the beginning of the series — as in the upper series of the inner wall of the first walled-in gallery, and as in the series of images of other Buddha temples (2) — must be south of the eastern stairs, and the continuation go from there through the south, west, and north, back to the starting-point in the east.

When the *clichés* were taken, this order could not be adhered to, because a beginning was made in several places at a time, the number of sculptures still being unknown. They were marked with letters to denote the different compartments and numbered either 1 — 6 or 1 — 8, but without any method,

(1) The second projection of each face is or was divided into two by the stairs.

(2) As those of *Râmâyana* on the chief temple of *Parambanan*. See my description of this building in *Hindu-ruins in the plain of Parambanan*.

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so that the numbers are now in the right order, now in a reversed order. In some copies the letters and numbers are no more to be found, having probably been cut off with the margin. Happily I found a clue to the right succession in pencilled numbers on the backs, though they had started from a point chosen at random.

For those who may wish to examine these photographs I add the letters and figures in the correct order of the sculptures beginning south of the eastern stairs by C I.

C 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6;
B 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8;
A 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6;
U 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
T 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
S1 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
S 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6;
R 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8;
Q 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6;
P 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
O 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
N1 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
N 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6;
M 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8;
L 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6;
K 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
I 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
H1 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
H 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6;
G 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8;
F 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6;
E 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
D 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1;
C1 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1.

Six of the 160 sculptures have been badly damaged; one of

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them has been wholly destroyed (R 5). Seven suffered in a less degree. Partly finished are 20 (C 3, 4; B 7; A 2; U 4; S 1; O 7; N 5; M 2; K 4, 3; H^1 2; H 1; G. 4, 8; F 2, 4. 6; D 3; C^1 1). Partly finished, but with the outlines of the unfinished part not even sketched are three (H^1 1; F 1; D 4.); only a small part of the sketch is seen in one (I 1.).

The plain band over the series bears a few short inscriptions in Old Javanese characters, according to professor KERN dating from about the year 800 of the *Saka*-era, carved rudely and shallowly, as if they had been scratched with a knife; viz. over H 1, 2, 3, 4 (twice), 5 (bis), 6 (bis); F 1, 4, 5. E 6, 5; D 8, 6 (bis), 5 (bis), 4, 3, 1 (bis) (1).

Some of the inscriptions are no more or hardly legible, but those which have been deciphered by DR. J. BRANDES of Batavia, do not teach us much more than what we can learn from a careful examination of the images, f. i. that the *sembah* (i. e. the hands joined and raised) of the persons seated round a tomb or a shrine means a homage to a *tyaitya* (2). According to BRANDES, some inscriptions may be the names of persons that were to be sculptured. If this conjecture is right, they served as indications to the sculptor.

The sculptures which are unfinished or morely begun, prove here, as in other *tyandis*, that the sculptures were cut out of the walls of the temple, after it had been finished

My efforts to discover in these sculpture-works a continous series of historical or legendary events have failed. Among many domestic and some rural scenes we meet with some

(1) G 5 is erroneously marked G 6, like the following one, which is correctly numbered.

(2) Every *dâgaba* is a *tyaitya*, but, a *tyaitya* is not necessarily a *dâgaba*. It is only so when it contains one or some relics. See KERN, p. 18 and foll. Hence it would be better to call all dâgaba-shaped ornaments *tyaityas*, and only the central building a *dâyaba*.

I saw Buddhists in *Ceylon* pay homage to the dâgaba of the pagoda at *Kelany* in the same way.

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birds'-shooting by sportsmen who blow missiles through a pipe or make use of a bow and arrows (M 5, M 3), fishing with nets (I 6); a war-dance (C 5) and a few other dances to a wind-instrument provided with a bag (S 2, R 7). Then there are offerings of food and flowers to *Bodhisatvas* or other sacred beings, and one to the *Dhyâni-Buddha* AMITÂBHA, i. e. the Buddha of this world, in the posture indicative of *meditation* or perhaps *death* (K 3) by six men, distinguished by crowns or discs of light (Bodhisatvas ?). In one sculpture there are four images of *Amitâbha* or the *Buddha*, as an ascetic in the wilderness (K 2). There are some demons or *râkshasas*, the greater number of them attacking or killing other persons (M 2, 3, 6, 7, 8) and several *tyaityas* (V 3, T 6, 4, 3, K 4, G 6. F 6, E 6, D 8, 6, 3, C[1] 6). Of *Bo*-trees, covered by *payungs* and *gandharvas* in their shade, there are five (K 6. G 4, F 3 (bis), E 4, C[1] 6), of *Bo*-trees without *payungs* but with *gandharvas* two (K 5, H 6), and *one* with only a *payung* (D 1).

Finally the *tyakra* of *Vishnu* is represented once on a lotus-cushion in the sky, (C 2).

I think I have now told all that can be said of the *Barabudur* within the limits prescribed by the purpose this little work is intended to serve. I have tried, and I hope not unsuccessfully, to avoid becoming unintelligible by abstruseness, or fatiguing by entering into too many details. Should any one who has beheld the magnificent ruin or only read this description feel a desire to know more of Buddhism and its temples, I advise him to read the works I have studied on the subject (1).

(1) H. KERN, *Geschiedenis van het Boeddhisme in Indië*, Haarlem, 1884.

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Though Buddhism has disappeared in Java and in a great part of India, its adherents still outnumber the followers of any other church or religion, and by its doctrine of love and self-command, as well as by the religious tolerance it teaches, it is superior to all others.

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